UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

A Timely Lesson in True Americanism - - - - - - - *David Jobman*

The Spirit of '76 - *Franklin Kent Gifford*

Treason Against Brotherhood - - - - - - - - - - *Arthur D. Weage*

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Thomas Curtis Clark

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Appeal to the Pope

We the undersigned, clergy and laymen of Protestant churches in the United States of America, noting with deep appreciation that the first message issued by Your Holiness after election to the solemn office you now hold, contained a stirring appeal for "peace . . . which is the fruit of charity and justice," venture to hope that this eloquent message may reach with special conviction into that corner of Europe where the sons of the Roman Catholic Church themselves are divided by bitter fratricidal war and that General Francisco Franco, on whom Your Holiness has recently invoked divine assistance, may be moved to bring to his country that peace of charity and justice for which you make so moving an appeal.

We have remarked with apprehension General Franco's refusal of the Republican Government's offer to make peace on terms (withdrawal of all foreigners and the assurance of Spanish independence; guaranty of no reprisals; a plebiscite to determine the form of future government) that would have honored the conqueror who accepted them. We have seen an avowedly Christian and Catholic general, given the opportunity to extend to his fellow countrymen that compassion and mercy which the founder of his religion brought into the world, choose instead to treat them with a ferocity so alien to Christian principles that its inspiration seems more likely to have come from neo-pagan Berlin than Burgos. For we remark with grave disquiet the similarity between Dr. Goebbels' statement on March 21 that "talk of humanitarianism and morals is simply disgusting to us" and the Count of Romanones' slogan for Nationalist Spain, "We must mistrust humanitarianism."

On November 7, 1938, we noted with distress that General Franco had told reputable reporters he had a blacklist of two million "criminals." Given the present population of Spain that represents almost a tenth of the population thus judged without trial, against all the tenets of civilized law.

On January 27 and February 15 we were deeply concerned to read press reports of grim and most unchristian reprisals then taking place in Barcelona.

On March 7 we read with profound distress of the refusal by General Franco of offers on the part of other countries to mediate in the cause of an early peace, and his apparent determination to prolong the bloodshed and the bitterness by insisting on that complete conquest dear to barbarians but scarcely to be expected from one who professes the Christian faith. We are grieved to see that statements made by his spokesmen cast scorn upon those humanitarian ideals which have been among Christianity's most valuable gifts to civilization, and characterized as "treacherous" that

(*Continued on page* 61)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXIII MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1939 No. 4

WORDS FOR THESE TIMES

"Europe could have peace tomorrow, if she would quit robbery and murder."

Henry IV, of France.

"All Europe, like all the world, has been stolen and restolen, till no man can name the original thieves."

Mark Twain.

THE PRIME MINISTER—AND WAR!

Mr. Chamberlain, having been denounced, derided, vilified for his action at Munich last September, has now suddenly become the hero of the hour. Having ourselves been wounded and maimed for our endorsement in these columns of Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement policy, we feel something like a grim satisfaction in seeing our dissenting friends now prostrating themselves before the weakling suddenly become strong, and eating their words in his august presence. Since we have never at any time believed Mr. Chamberlain to be a pacifist, we have been ready at any time to see him turn warmaker and prepare to use the stupendous armaments which he has been feverishly building—only thankful, like the dog and his crumbs at the master's table, for a policy of peace which caught for a transient moment at Munich the gleam of the pacifist ideal. Even though Mr. Chamberlain failed in this endeavor to postpone war in the hope of preventing it—yea, even though he failed through his own betrayal of his cause —we thought, and still think, that it was a superb gesture, to be remembered forever for its sheer drama. But we confess we are mystified, and utterly disappointed, by this latest resolution to fight on behalf of Poland. If the English Prime Minister would not draw the line last September in the face of aggression upon Czechoslovakia following seizure of Austria, why should he now draw the line in the face of aggression upon Poland following seizure of Czechoslovakia? And if he would not fight for Czechoslovakia, with its democratic institutions, its noble culture, its free people, why fight for Poland, with its dictatorial government, its double-dealing diplomacy, its oppressed minorities, and its hideous persecution of the Jews? What, indeed, is there in Poland to prefer to Germany? Why should English and French boys be called upon to fling away their fair young lives for this miserable specimen of Versailles peace-making? Yet all our liberals and radicals are yipping it up for the English Prime Minister whom they exhausted their vocabulary to denounce a little while ago, and are clamoring ferociously for this next war, on the Polish frontier, "to make the world safe for democracy." We will have nothing to do with it. The imperialistic game, stayed in a moment of despair last September, is on again, and our world trembles to its doom.

THE PRESIDENT—AND WAR!

The foreign policy of the administration remains alarming in the extreme. Step by step, in the good old Wilsonian fashion, the President is preparing to take us into war. His instant alignment with England and France in their newly-discovered war program against Germany is unauthorized by any popular mandate, and of course means taking up arms the instant war breaks out upon the continent. His rearmament policy is absolutely unjustifiable (see Oswald Garrison Villard's article in the current *Harper's Monthly* magazine), and only serves to aggravate an already tense situation. Worst of all is his attempt to scuttle the Neutrality Act, now happily blocked for a time by the action of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. What the administration tried to do was to get the Senate to pass the Pittman Act, permitting the sale of arms, ammunition, and war material generally to any belligerent on a "cash and carry" basis, without a public hearing and without debate. Anything to keep the people from knowing what was going on, especially as the people believe in the Neutrality Act! It is of imperative importance that the Pittman bill be defeated. It opens wide the door to just such unneutral participation in war as went on in 1914-17, and carried us eventually into the world conflict. So far from scrapping the Neutrality Act, we should strengthen it, particularly along the lines suggested by Senator Nye in a bill stripping the President of the power of himself deciding when or if a war has broken out between belligerents. The inability of Mr. Roosevelt to discover any fighting going on in China, for example, has nullified the neutrality policy in Asia. Let the people rally to defeat the Pittman bill, and to pass the Nye bill. Then, to make a complete job of it, let us see to it that the Ludlow war referendum bill is passed. Keep America out of war!

THE RUSSIAN PURGE AGAIN

It is just because we have had to take such slams in the matter of Stalin's purge, which resulted in the murder of all the old Bolsheviks, that we ask pardon of our readers for keeping vigorously before them the progress of events. The latest is the speech of Audrey A. Zhdanoff at the recent Communist Party Congress in Moscow, as reported by Walter Duranty in the New York *Times*. Zhdanoff is regarded by many persons as next to Joseph Stalin in importance in Russia today. His speech Mr. Duranty describes as "stranger than fiction." What he said about the purge "would make the mad hatter's tea-party in *Alice in Wonderland* look like a Boston sewing bee." It showed the madness of the Russian purge to be like the madness of the Salem witchcraft delusion—the very comparison, incidentally, which we made in these columns two years ago! "If America . . . went haywire in those lamented days" writes Mr. Duranty, "these Russians doubled and redoubled." The story told by Zhdanoff is literally incredible. It does not carry back to the famous trials—these have been sanctified, and are thus unimpeachable. But this leading Communist narrated to the Party Congress what happened all around these trials and after the trials—thousands of perfectly innocent men arrested, expelled from the Party, imprisoned—and the inference is unescapable to any sane and open mind. The purge was from the beginning and in all its phases what we have always said it was —the persecution and butchery of men who were guiltless of offense. The only comfort is, as Mr. Duranty puts it, that "the Russians are hardy creatures, and they stopped their purge in time." In time, yes, to save the state from utter wreckage—but what about the dead men who can never come to life? Too late for them! But who cares? Few people in this world—a world in which an ideology means everything, and the elementary principles of justice, mercy, and truth nothing.

FREE SPEECH MEANS FREE SPEECH!

The Editor of the *Western Jewish Advocate*, Dr. Arthur J. Kirschstein, is greatly troubled by Nazi activities in this country, as we all are, or ought to be. He is especially outraged by the February 20th Bund meeting in New York, and thinks something ought to be done about it. He remembers that "the Constitution of the United States guarantees every one the right of free speech," but insists that "if we want to keep the right, then no one in the United States should be permitted to abuse it." He argues, in reaction upon the racial and religious hatred preached by the Bund, that "it is time that some amendment be made to our Constitution." This amendment should provide, he says, that no advocate of any doctrine should be allowed to incite hatred of another race or creed. The New York meeting, he declares, was "unthinkable," and should never have been permitted. "Surely" is his final word, "the Constitution can be amended, not to abridge any one's right to free speech . . . , but to curb and halt the spread of the particular brand of hatred preached by the Nazis." But how—we ask, *how?* Tell us, please, how any one can be denied the right to preach his doctrines without abridging "any one's right to free speech!" The Constitution, as Dr. Kirschstein admits, now "guarantees *every one* the right of free speech." Dr. Kirschstein would take this right away from Nazis. But how can this be done without destroying the very right guaranteed by the Constitution? And what assurance is there that, if the Nazis were suppressed, other groups would not straightway be suppressed too? The Communists, for example! This country is full of people who fear and hate the "reds," and who would instantly insist that any abridgement of free speech be applied to them. Then who would be next? Why, of course, the Jews! Alter the free speech provision of the Constitution by a single syllable, and the anti-Semites would be all for silencing the Jews. When shall we learn that no man is free unless all men are free? Is it possible that Jews do not understand these dreadful days that their protection is absolutely dependent upon the preservation of the very guaranties of freedom which their enemies abuse? *Free speech means free speech.* Abridge free speech, deny it to anybody—and we do not protect our democracy, but ourselves destroy it.

JEWISH PROGRESS IN PALESTINE

News from Palestine in recent years has mostly had to do with massacres and murders, and the reign of terror between Jews and Arabs. In recent weeks the news-center has been switched to London and the abortive conference held under the auspices of the British Empire. It has been a dark time, apparently, for Zionism! Yet all the while the work of settlement has been going steadily on, and the roots of Zion striking deeper and even deeper into the ancient soil. The latest reports, as published in *Palestine and the Middle East*, include such facts and figures as these: Thirty-six (36) new colonies have been established in these last few years of murder and arson; twelve (12) new workers' suburbs have been founded near the towns; thirty (30) new water plants have been erected, capable of adding 22,000 cubic meters of water per hour, enough to irrigate 65,000 additional dunams of land; the vegetable output has risen from 3,000 to 12,000 tons per year; eggs, from 25 to 50 millions; milk, from 20 to 30 million litres; the population of Jews has grown by 55,000, and land holdings have increased by 74,190 dunams. More than 17,500,000 pounds have been invested; the port of Tel Aviv has been built; the Palestine Airways, Inc., has been inaugurated. The exports of Palestine have mounted from 400,000 to 900,000 pounds. The *Reconstructionist*, in reproducing these

figures, asks: Has Zionism failed? The answer is obvious. What was an experiment is now an achievement. A sapling, planted fearfully in desert soil, and watered through the years with sweat and tears and blood, has now grown into a mighty tree. The roots of this tree are so deep-bedded in the earth that no storm can tear them loose. Amid all these recent tornadoes of hate and lust, the tree has only grown taller, stouter, and more beautiful—Zionism is already victorious. Unless the world itself is destroyed, it will endure. The Empire may settle the Arab problem as it will, with whatever betrayal of plighted troth, but the Jews are in Palestine to stay and to prosper even as the green bay tree.

NAZIFYING GERMAN PROTESTANTISM

Since Martin Niemöller was buried alive in a concentration camp, news from Germany about the churches has been scant. But a recent Associated Press dispatch from Berlin shows that the government is still vigorously at war with the Evangelicals. Thus, two decrees have been issued which threaten fatal blows against the churches. One decree provides that any church member can choose some pastor other than his regular minister for the performance of "the individual duties of his office." The other decree provides that a pastor can be removed from his church against his will, or be dismissed "if he can no longer conduct his office within his congregation in an advantageous manner, or if the preservation of order in his congregation so demands." The significance of these decrees is obvious. In every Protestant church there are members who wish the congregation to conform to Naziism. Wherever these members, as in many cases, have been in a minority, they have been powerless. But now, under these decrees, they have power to act. Thus, all that is now necessary to bring an Evangelical church under Nazi domination is for this minority group of parishioners to demand that they be assigned a minister to their liking, or for the supreme church council to declare that the incumbent minister is no longer able to perform his duties to the happiness and advantage of his church. It is reported that Confessional circles in Germany are greatly alarmed. They feel that these decrees may enable the regime to accomplish at last what it has hitherto failed to achieve—namely, the disrupting of opposition and the Nazifying of the churches. Of course, the very existence of the Confessional group has been an affront to Hitler. The arrest and imprisonment of Niemöller undoubtedly disheartened the group, and it seemed for a time as though it would disintegrate and disappear. But the old heroic opposition to tyranny survived—and now is to be fought again with these diabolically ingenious weapons! But we trust the great mass of the Protestants to stand fast. They have proved their obstinacy and courage, and will not now, even by these measures, be overcome.

Jottings

The question of concentration camps in Czechoslovakia seems to us inconsequential, when the whole country is itself a concentration camp.

Twenty-five years ago America abandoned neutrality after the world war had begun. Today we are preparing to abandon neutrality before another world war has begun. Which means that we shall enter the next war much quicker than we did the last one!

"A House committee voted today to recommend increased benefits for certain world war veterans and their survivors."—Associated Press dispatch from Washington.

A country with veterans is like a soldier with "cooties." Bitten all the time!

"This Germany (the Germany of 1914) faced the world in absolute defenselessness because it was unprepared."—Adolf Hitler, in speech at Wilhelmshaven, April 1, 1939.

This statement sounds like an "April Fool" joke But all statesmen talk like that. Every nation, including our own, spends billions for defense and is still absolutely defenseless. Surely the riddle of the Sphinx was this: *When is a nation prepared?*

"The —— —— has been called sensational. It *is* sensational. So was the crucifixion. So were the miracles performed by the Savior and the great events of the Old Testament. They were all sensational."

This dear friends, is an advertisement of—*what?* Why, the *American Weekly* magazine! Great is Publicity, and the ad-man is his profit!!

In a letter of inquiry about a student applying for admission to a Library School, we read:

The course requires a well-trained mind, accuracy, judgment, a good general education, and wide reading; while for subsequent success in the library profession, an attractive personality, initiative, executive ability and capacity for team work are also important elements.

This sounds like the ministry—with a salary of $1,200, or thereabouts!

We have already hailed with enthusiasm the appointment of William O. Douglas to the Supreme Court (see last issue, page 37). But we must decline to join in the newspaper laudation of the man because he is called "Bill," swears like a pirate, and tells off-color stories. Wherein do these qualities improve Mr. Douglas' fitness for great office? J. H. H.

A Timely Lesson in True Americanism*

DAVID JOBMAN

One hundred and fifty years ago, April 30, 1789, on a balcony before a solemn gathering at Federal Hall in the City of New York, George Washington, at the age of fifty-seven, took the oath as the first President of the newly-founded United States of America. He thus became the first chief executive of the new democracy which dared to challenge and smash the chains of ancient tyrannies while upholding the natural and legitimate rights of mankind; extending the brotherly hand to the oppressed and persecuted of the Old World, irrespective of creed or nationality.

The son of a Virginia planter, destined to become "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," Washington was from the beginning to the very end of his career a man of stalwart convictions, moral character, and the most perfect example of integrity and patriotic devotion expressing its sublime grandeur through indefatigable action and self-imposed sacrifices for the common good. In a message to John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Delegates, Virginia, Washington gives us the reasons, at the very outset of his great career, for his entering public life; being impelled, he said, by "a laudable desire of serving my country, not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans." (April, 1755.) During the greatest part of his sixty-seven years, active service for general welfare was his chosen destiny. It is for us, the present generation at the crossroads, a most instructive and heartening experience to review the man and his works, as they expanded over the dynamic arena of our great nation at its very inception, learning the lesson and gathering the strength and courage for the solution of those trying problems that beg for solution today. Washington left us, in his life, a precious legacy—a sterling illustration of true patriotism.

Having lost his father at the formative age of eleven, little George felt early what it means to be self-reliant, industrious, honest, courteous, and helpful. His *Rules of Conduct,* jotted down in his manuscript for personal everyday guidance, form the blueprints of a moral personality in the processes of creation. Of his maxims, the following eternal truths seem most striking, indicating the boy's latent aspirations:

> Be no flatterer, [says his notebook.] Always submit your judgment to others with modesty. When a man does all he can, though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it. Mock not, nor jest at anything of importance. Wherein you reprove another, be unblameable yourself; for example is more prevalent than precepts. Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation, for it is better to be alone than in bad company. In all causes of passion, admit reason to govern. Sublime matters treat seriously. Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof. Good humor makes one dish of meat a feast. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience.

And it was that living conscience that kept him the ever-watchful sentinel of the republic throughout the entire length of his eventful life.

How many would-be traitors and disseminators of foreign "isms," who try to fan the flames of bigotry and false rumors and racial hatreds, would stand the test of this Americanism of George, the little boy, who thus reared at this early age the mighty pillars that later became the democracy of the United States of America? He was all for the living conscience of man. He was for reason and truth. He warned against wild passion and the dangers of "bad company." He was for a united American people that lives in harmonious fellowship; each helping the other to help himself, while in unison helping to create a more prosperous and beautiful America which would still remain the land of promise for the persecuted and oppressed. "If we have the wisdom to make the best use of the advantage with which we are now favored," wrote Washington to the Hebrew Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island, on the occasion of his visit, "we cannot fail under the just administration of a good government to become a great and happy people." When united under the true banner of Americanism, he was proud to point out that his was a country where "all possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship." He himself fought to make possible the existence of one country with a government "which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support." Bias, bigotry, hatred, and strife are the venomous fangs of the enemies of America,—things and practices which the father of the country so valiantly struggled to uproot in his own age.

As the boy grew to manhood, he actually lived his faith, with a watchful eye ever open for "the greatest possible mutuality of good." Freely dispensing sound judgment on vital occasions, Washington accepted responsibility courageously and readily.

Faith and action, profession and practice, went together. At the age of sixteen he was surveying the huge estates of Lord Fairfax. At nineteen, his native state gave him responsible assignments as adjutant of the militia. At twenty-one, he was made commander of a military district. At twenty-two, he was picked by Governor Dinwiddie to head the perilous mission to the hostile French encamped beyond the Allegheny river, emerging from the campaign with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. At the age of twenty-three, we find him occupying a post of trust on General Braddock's staff. At twenty-six, he was leading bravely the dangerous expedition against Fort Duquesne; to be elected to the House of Burgesses later as a reward for meritorious services performed. At the age of twenty-seven, the soldier married, hoping, as he confided to Richard Washington, "to find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced amidst a wide and bustling world."

But personal interests and comfort never stood ground when the interests of duty called. For fifteen years, from 1758 to 1773, the Virginia House of Burgesses claimed his allegiance. At the age of forty-two, Washington was chosen delegate to the First and the following year also to the Second Continental Congresses; winding up, at the age of forty-three, as Commander in Chief of the Revolutionary Army fighting for the establishment of a new nation;—a democracy, where *the consent of the people governed* was the very cornerstone of just government.

*The New York World's Fair has opened this month in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States. In an age when democracy as the essence of personal inetgrity and civil liberty is being derided and threatened, it may be well to remind ourselves of Washington and his true patriotism.—*Editor.*

It was not an easy road to glory and victory. Instead of roses, his paths were strewn with intolerance, persecution, and plenty of ill will and greed. The possession of wealth and power did not always harmonize with the will of the people and the rights of mankind. But Washington actually sacrificed wealth and ease and power for those very principles of democratic living which gave birth to the United States of America. Economic strangulation and political cruelty, wielded by a foreign dictator on the verge of bankruptcy, stood in the way and threatened the very life of the young nation. The priceless cultural heritage of the ages was at stake. But throughout the ordeal Washington, the idealist, conceived a future for the thirteen original colonies cemented by fellowship into a single "indissoluble community of interest as one nation." Unity, taught the first citizen of the land, "is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize." (*Farewell Address.*) Standing for "the spirit of liberality and philanthropy, "opposing the despotic abuse of power in the hands of a scheming tyrant, Washington went to the front, emerging, after eight years of bitter struggle and deprivation, a hero among heroes.

He justly anticipated a much-needed and long-delayed rest on Mount Vernon's inviting lawns. So we see him next, at the age of fifty-one, on December 4, 1783, uttering his farewell to the faithful comrades and officers who gathered around him at Fraunces' Tavern, New York City. His resignation was accepted. But fate again cut his retirement short; the good soldier answered his country's urgent call. Fully realizing that personal and national aspiration was still "a noble dream in an ignoble world," he bowed to practical necessity, not shirking the tasks involved.

Right leadership was the crying need of the hour. The colonies comprising the new nation were fearful and zealous. Everything was at stake; the very lives of the patriots were in deadly danger from the insatiable and beastly claws of the aggressor from across the seas. The heroic citizens who, in face of "divine" and despotic remonstrances dared "to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them" (See the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence) were still in the throes and dangers of new birth. To whom were they to turn again if not to the one great leader who had met the test at those most critical "times that tried men's souls. . ."? Washington's unselfish devotion to the cause of the people and of liberty was known to all. His integrity, courage, and determination spoke for the man. His calm and unbiased counsel and his executive talents were just what the country needed at that time—the most crucial in our national history.

It is most logical, then, to find Washington recalled from his retreat, to be loaded with the responsibilities of the helm of state at the age of fifty-five. True guardian that he was, he became the dignified, tactful, and faithful presiding officer in the Constitutional Convention, guiding the nation through the many storms of local prejudices and interests to ultimate security and peace.

The Chief, who held the respect and undimmed confidence of his people, was a pragmatist; a realist, if ever there lived one. Yet throughout his career, there was something more in the man than mere practical expediency. Washington, the soldier and statesman, was a dreamer of the first rank with a vision well fixed in his active mind. Each practical move he made was a master stroke bringing him and his countrymen closer to the goal of his heart's desire. His endurance and greatness were quickened by faith in his ideal, which motivated his course of action. He sensed the solemnity of the unwritten laws of humanity which spoke against the iniquity of inhuman force, injustice, and persecution. He aimed for an order where brotherhood and coöperation, peace and democracy, security and joyfulness are radiated through the moral and free impulses of all men. He felt and knew that the welfare of the individual man, woman, and child necessarily went together inseparably with the welfare of society organized upon the basis of mutual helpfulness and universal good will. Wielding force when there remained absolutely no other recourse for self-defense, Washington believed in the laws of reason and humanity, in friendship and orderly processes of civilization. When momentous decisions were to be made behind the locked doors of the Constitutional Convention and strife was at its height, when Paterson's "New Jersey Plan" stood at odds with Randolph's "Virginia Plan," and Johnson's "Connecticut Plan" was being steered heatedly yet skilfully to final adoption, there and then arose the realist with a vision, who, brushing aside all the petty provincialism of those present, raised the banner which immediately became the rallying signal of the hour. "Let us raise a standard," counselled Washington, "to which the wise and the honest can repair."

The challenge was heard and accepted; the United States of America became "the guardian of liberty," challenging all tyranny which is based on ignorance, bigotry, and greed for power; while inviting to its folds the true, the honest, and all those willing to labor for a sound life in common fellowship. A "government of the people, by the people, for the people" became possible.

There was then, as now, the opposition of those "inherently brutalizing forces, destructive of all that is valuable in civilization and human personality." There were also then, as now, men whose narrow partisanship prompted the warning that "they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion. . ." But Washington, the statesman and warrior, crusading for the rights of mankind and his valiant friends-in-arms, was not to be frightened off, nor disheartened by difficulties. Ever self-sacrificing, he faced openly the issues of the hour, accepting more than his honest share of the burden; battling for a cause which harmonized with his ideal of a democratic America of the future.

What was the conception of political economy which he labored to establish?

"The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government," explains Washington (1796). And he continues: "But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government." Therein are sketched in brief the sole right and responsibilities of a citizen in a republic. In these few lines our first President revealed his faith. He had an unconquerable

zeal, trusting that the sound instincts and understanding of the common people contain a moral force of orderliness and righteousness which work for the peaceful attainment of a civilization where tolerance and good will make for security and universal justice.

At the age of fifty-seven, Washington was regarded with a new trust, crowning a most glorious career. He became the logical and unanimous choice for the new post of Chief Executive under the Constitution of the New Republic; to be reëlected for a second term four years later. Following the inauguration of John Adams, in March, 1797, in the City of Philadelphia, Washington finally succeeded in retiring at the age of sixty-five —only to be drafted the following year by the Senate as Lieutenant-General of the armed forces of the nation, in anticipation of a new war upon the horizon.

At last, at the age of sixty-seven, the faithful patriot betook himself to what he had called "the mansions of rest," to join the ranks of his departed comrades. But before he left, his undying devotion to the ideal of an American working democracy had produced for posterity a document of great importance to the future of the nation, to whose services he had so generously dedicated his all.

In his *Farewell Address to the People* (September, 1796), the valiant Washington, anticipating retirement and well-merited rest, placed on record a glimpse into his cherished dream that

> . . . . union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution . . . . may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

An uncompromising foe of injustice in all its ugly and rampant manifestations, the first President of the American democracy is a shining example of civic virtue and humanitarian leadership. A strong believer in freedom and genuine progress, with the people ever master of their own destinies, his self-respect and honor never allowed vainglory to touch or belittle his manhood. But he had learned well the lesson that only through eternal vigilance can one's security and liberties be maintained.

With the forthrightness of a stern realist, the philosophy and patriotism of George Washington are manifest. He had a vision of a social order free from despotism and oppression. He made that vision the earnest topic of his daily exertions. He knew too well that only by *doing* can things be done and errors corrected. Himself free from greed of any kind, he had ideas of peaceful coöperation between nations to serve legitimate needs by honorable means becoming to civilized men of modern times. He paid readily with personal comfort, dedicating himself in the service of his country. When in authority, he mapped his course closely guided by the desire and application of a true Christian and a gentleman, with fairness to all. He was willing to stake his all on the then novel faith in the common masses of humanity. The moral glory of the Union and the welfare of the average American were his concern. An aristocrat by tradition, George Washington became the first true democrat in the first modern democracy. Again and again he proved his convictions by dedicating his entire life to the daring and dangerous cause—so abhorrent to all the enemies of progress—of political democracy, religious tolerance and liberty, and a social fellowship that could and would gradually embrace all mankind in the fraternal ties of collaboration for universal enjoyment and creative peace. "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion," spoke Washington at the very climax of his career, "it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." He knew that no enemy of true progress wishes to tolerate free, independent, and honest popular enlightenments. That is the reason why education and progressive democratic action to the nth degree formed the very core of his Americanism; justice and humanity becoming the very heartbeats of his daily efforts, the essence of which he bequeathed to us, living in this "chaotic stage in human history," to absorb and to carry on. Recalling Thomas Jefferson's characterization of our hero, (Letter to Dr. Walter Jones, under date of January 2, 1814), "His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision." Brave and prudent and of sterling character, Washington may well serve as the perfect example of the hope and determination and labors that await the present generation of Americans who are gathering to pay due homage to the one man who made the dream of a free America come true.

America, the Freeman's Land

America, the freeman's land,
We claim the freeman's heritage.
Not all in vain that hero band
Who wrote their will on history's page,
Who seized the despot's cruel rod,
Who claimed the rights of men from God.
God save the people!

The prairies and the fields are ours,
And ours the mountains to the sea.
Shall we still fear the lordly powers?
'Tis God who gives us liberty.
The right to live is ours again;
We are not craven slaves, but men
God save the people!

From pauper homes and fields we come,
But poverty shall soon be gone.
No longer shall our lips be dumb,
We hail the splendor of the dawn.
Our God leads on, the night is o'er;
The people rule, for evermore.
God save the people!

The kings of gold must yield their power;
Our babes are dearer far than gold.
Today is mankind's triumph hour,
Beyond the clouds see day unfold.
The reign of tyrants soon is past,
This fight for freedom is our last.
God save the people!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Gandhi and the Chinese

A conversation between Gandhi and a group of Chinese attending the recent Madras Missionary Conference is reported in Gandhi's paper, *Harijan* (January 28, 1939), as follows:

T. T. Lew. "China is not afraid of material destruction, distressing though it is, but of cultural destruction. The first bomb in Shanghai hit a library. Colleges have been wiped out. . . . The morale of the whole nation is being sapped by the drug traffic on a nationwide scale. Supposing we win the war after 10 or 15 years, we may restore the material devastation, but how shall we redeem our younger generation?"

Gandhi. "Whilst I have no message to send to the Chinese people who are engaged in fighting, I have no hesitation in presenting my viewpoint to you. I was almost going to ask you as to what you meant by being culturally ruined. I should be sorry to learn that Chinese culture resided in brick and mortar or in huge tomes which the moth can eat. A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people. Chinese culture is Chinese only to the extent that it has become part and parcel of Chinese life. Your saying, therefore, that your culture and your morals are in danger of being destroyed, leads one to think that the reform movement in your country was only skin-deep. Gambling had not disappeared from the people's hearts. It was kept down not by the tone set by society, but by the penalty of the law. The heart continued to gamble. Japan is of course to blame and must be blamed for what it has done or is doing. But then Japan is just now like the wolf whose business it is to make short work of the sheep. Blaming the wolf would not help the sheep much. The sheep must learn not to fall into the clutches of the wolf.

"If even a few of you took to non-violence they would stand forth as living monuments of Chinese culture and morals. And then, even if China were overwhelmed on the battlefield, it would be well with China in the end, because it would at the same time be receiving a message which contains a promise of hope and deliverance. Japan cannot force drugs down unwilling throats at the point of a bayonet. It can only set up temptations. You teach people to resist these temptations by replying to Japanese force by force. Whatever else force may or may not be able to achieve, it cannot safeguard Chinese morals or save Chinese culture.

"If you feel the truth of my remarks, you will become a living message to China. You will then tell the Chinese people, 'No matter what material destruction Japan inflicts, it cannot bring about China's cultural destruction. Our people must be sufficiently educated and warned to resist all the temptations that Japan may devise. Monuments and cities may be razed to the ground. They are but a passing show, that is going one day to be claimed by time as its own. If they are destroyed by the Japanese, it will only be a morsel taken out of time's mouth. The Japanese cannot corrupt our soul. If the soul of China is injured, it will not be by Japan.' "

The Chinese friend was of the opinion that only the economic collapse of Japan could save China. He wanted to know what the prospects of a boycott of Japanese goods by India were.

"I wish," replied Gandhiji, "I could say that there was any great hope. Our sympathies are with you but they have not stirred us to our very depths, or else we should have boycotted all Japanese goods, especially Japanese cloth. Japan is not only conquering you but it is trying to conquer us too by its cheap, flimsy machine-made goods. The sending of the Indian Medical Mission was good as a gesture of friendship and good will which there are in abundance. But that does not give me much satisfaction when I know we could do much more. We too are a big nation like you. If we told the Japanese, 'We are not going to import a single yard of your calico nor export any of our cotton to you,' Japan would think twice before proceeding with its aggression."

This talk was followed by a discussion later with the whole group. The Chinese delegates put searching questions. There was an eagerness minutely to study "the mind and face" of non-violence. One of them asked, "Is it not necessary that individuals should practise non-violence first in their own person, in their relations with other individuals?"

"It would be a delusion to think otherwise," replied Gandhiji. "If one does not practise non-violence in one's personal relations with others and hopes to use it in bigger affairs, one is vastly mistaken. Non-violence like charity must begin at home. *But if it is necessary for the individual to be trained in non-violence, it is even more necessary for the nation to be trained likewise. One cannot be non-violent in one's own circle and violent outside it.* Or else one is not truly non-violent even in one's own circle; often the non-violence is only in appearance. It is only when you meet with resistance, as for instance when a thief or a murderer appears, that your non-violence is put on its trial. You either try or should try to oppose the thief with his own weapons, or you try to disarm him by love. Living among decent people, your conduct may not be described as non-violent. Mutual forbearance is non-violence. Immediately, therefore, you get the conviction that non-violence is the law of life, you have to practise it towards those who act violently towards you, and the law must apply to nations as to individuals. Training is no doubt necessary. And beginnings are always small. But, if the conviction is there, the rest will follow."

Another question was: "In the practice of non-violence, is there not danger of developing a 'martyrdom complex' or pride creeping in?"

Gandhiji: "If one has that pride and egoism, there is no non-violence. Non-violence is impossible without humility. My own experience is that whenever I have acted non-violently I have been led to it and sustained in it by the higher promptings of an unseen power. Through my own will I should have miserably failed. When I first went to jail, I quailed at the prospect. I had heard terrible things about jail life. But I had faith in God's protection. Our experience was that those who went to jail in a prayerful spirit came out victorious, those who had gone in their own strength failed. There is no room for self-pitying in it either, when you say God is giving you the strength. Self-pity comes when you do a thing for which you expect recognition from others. But here there is no question of recognition."

Another friend thus placed his dilemma: "I am a

firm believer in non-violence. Eight years ago I read your *Experiments with Truth* and immediately became converted to the way of life you have there advocated. Shortly after that, I translated the book into Chinese. And then came the Japanese invasion. My faith in non-violence was put to a severe test and I was caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, I felt I could not preach non-violence to my people who were never militaristic but who now believed that resistance with force was the only way out. It was the best thing they knew, and I believed with you that 'I would rather risk the use of force a thousand times than let my people lose their manhood.' But on the other hand, when I try to take a sympathetic attitude and try to do something helpful in such a situation, I find I am giving moral and material support directly and indirectly to something which is against the highest that I know. There seems to be no way out of this dilemma because I cannot live in a vacuum and anything I do will work one way or the other. While I can believe without reserve in non-violence in personal relationships, even though I fall far short of it, I cannot feel in the same way when I am faced with a national situation in which the great majority of the people have not even heard of the way of non-violence."

"Yours is a difficult situation," replied Gandhiji. "Such difficulties have confronted me more than once. I took part on the British side in the Boer War by forming an ambulance corps. I did likewise at the time of what has been described as the Zulu revolt. The third time was during the Great War. I believed in non-violence then. My motive was wholly non-violent. That seemingly inconsistent conduct gave me strength. *My example cannot be used as a precedent for others to follow.* Looking back upon my conduct on those three occasions, I have no sense of remorse. I know this, too, that my non-violent strength did not suffer diminution because of those experiences. The actual work I was called upon to do was purely humanitarian, especially during the Zulu revolt. I and my companions were privileged to nurse the wounded Zulus back to life. It is reasonable to suggest that but for our services some of them would have died. I cite this experience not to justify my participation however indirect it was. I cite it to show that I came through that experience with greater non-violence and with richer love for the great Zulu race. And I had an insight into what war by white men against colored races meant.

"The lesson to be learnt from it by you is that, placed as you are in a position of hopeless minority, you may not ask your people to lay down their arms unless their hearts are changed and by laying down their arms they feel the more courageous and brave. *But whilst you may not try to wean people from war, you will in your person live non-violence in all its completeness and refuse all participation in war.* You will develop love for the Japanese in your hearts. You will examine yourself whether you can really love them, whether you have not some ill will towards them for all the harm they are doing. It is not enough to love them by remembering their virtues. You must be able to love them in spite of all their misdeeds. If you have that love for the Japanese in your hearts, you will proceed to exhibit in your conduct that higher form of courage which is the hallmark of true non-violence and which your Chinese friends will not fail to detect and recognize as such. You will not wish success to Japanese arms because you 'love' the Japanese. At the same time you will not pray for the success of Chinese arms.

"It is very difficult to judge, when both sides are employing weapons of violence, which side 'deserves' to succeed. You will therefore pray only that the right should prevail. Whilst you will keep yourself aloof from all violence you will not shirk danger. You will serve friend and foe alike with a reckless disregard for your life. You will rush forth if there is an outbreak of an epidemic or a fire to be combated and distinguish yourself by your surpassing courage and non-violent heroism. But you will refuse to call the curses of heaven upon the Japanese. If by chance some Japanese soldiers or airmen fall into the hands of the Chinese and are in danger of being lynched by an infuriated Chinese mob or otherwise ill-treated, you will plead for them with your own people and if necessary even protect them with your life.

"You know the story of Emily Hobhouse. Though an Englishwoman, she courageously went to the Boer concentration camps. She exhorted the Boers never to lose heart, and it is said that if she had not steeled the hearts of the Boer women as she did, the war might have taken a different turn. She was full of wrath against her own people for whom she had not a good word to say. You would not copy her unmeasured wrath which somewhat vitiated her non-violence, but you will copy her love for the 'enemy' that made her denounce the misdeeds of her own countrymen. Your example will affect the Chinese and might even shame some Japanese who will become bearers of your message among the Japanese.

"A very slow process, you will perhaps say. Yes, possibly, under the existing adverse circumstances to begin with. But it will gather momentum and speed in an incalculable manner as you proceed. I am an irrepressible optimist. My optimism rests on my belief in the infinite possibilities of the individual to develop non-violence. The more you develop it in your own being, the more infectious it becomes till it overwhelms your surroundings and by-and-by might oversweep the world."

T. T. Lew: "I, a believer in non-violence, often find that I am actuated by mixed motives. So does a war general have mixed motives. Is it not possible to fight, with love for the enemy in one's heart? May we not shoot out of love?"

Gandhiji: "We do often have mixed motives. But that would not be non-violence. There can be degrees in violence, not in non-violence. The constant effort of the votary of non-violence is to purge himself of hatred towards the so-called enemy. There is no such thing as shooting out of love in the way you suggest."

The last to place before Gandhiji his problem was Mr. P. C. Hsu. He had been writing since 1930 to meet Gandhiji. He had graduated in the same year in which Japan presented its twenty-one demands to China. He was at that time a bitter nationalist. After three years of contact with the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation among the students, he changed his views and began to make a distinction between the Japanese people and the Japanese military machine. He became a believer in an international lining up of liberal elements. "I can say honestly," he told Gandhiji, "I have no feeling of hatred towards the Japanese

people but I feel their military system is an evil. I used to think that all that was needed to end it was education in truth. I had hoped that at Madras, at any rate, an international link between the two countries on the basis of mutual good will and peace would be forged. But I was disillusioned. I found that very little could be achieved immediately." He had tried, too, to establish peace groups as an agency for carrying on the peace work, but found that confronted by a crisis they were reduced to impotence and could offer little effective check. "Our difficulty is this," he concluded. "While sincerely believing in non-violence, we have not found a way of making it effective."

"Should that present a difficulty?" exclaimed Gandhiji. "A person who realizes a particular evil of his time and finds it overwhelms him, dives deep in his own heart for inspiration, and when he gets it, he presents it to others. Meetings and group organizations are all right. They are of some help, but very little. They are like the scaffolding that an architect erects—a temporary and makeshift expedient. The thing that really matters is an invincible faith that cannot be quenched.

"Faith can be developed. Only, the way it can be developed and in which it works differs from that in the case of violence. You cannot develop violence through prayer. Faith, on the other hand, cannot be developed except through prayer.

"Non-violence succeeds only when we have a living faith in God. Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed—they were all warriors of peace in their own style. We have to enrich the heritage left by these world teachers. God has his own wonderful way of executing his plans and choosing his instruments. The Prophet and Abu Bakr trapped in a cave were saved from their persecutors by a spider which had woven its web across the mouth of that cave. All the world teachers, you should know, began with a zero!!"

Gandhiji's interlocutor seemed to be satisfied. But he had another doubt. "Whilst we have isolated individuals who have the mind of Jesus," he observed to Gandhiji, "because they are not united, not organized, theirs remains a mere cry in the wilderness. The question that arises in my mind is: Can love be organized? And if so, how?"

Gandhiji: "Organization in the orthodox sense may not be possible. But there is no bar to united non-violent action. I am trying to show by a series of experiments that it is possible. It has its own technique."

"If China wins the war," finally asked the friend, "will she be worse off or better off for her victory?"

"If China wins," replied Gandhiji, "and copies Japanese methods, she will beat Japan hollow at her own game. But the victory of China will not mean a new hope for the world. For China will then be a multiple edition of Japan. But whether China wins or goes down, your line of action is clear. If China is defeated on the battlefield, your non-violence will remain undaunted and will have done its work. If China wins, you will go to the gallows in the attempt to wean China from copying Japan's methods."

The Spirit of '76

FRANKLIN KENT GIFFORD

Seated in the elegant foyer of the Hotel Majestic of Eden Centre, New Hampshire, the young minister congratulated himself on candidating in a church that did things right. None of your tucked-up boarding houses or down-at-the-heel hotels for Eden Centre. How vast the improvement over his last experience with an up-country parish in the lovely little town of Hill Village, Massachusetts, where the maiden lady who ran the finances informed you, as she handed out a few reluctant dollars:

"The last minister gave us back two dollars and a half."

This from a church with a recent windfall of twenty thousand dollars!

"Did he?" said the minister callously. "Very kind of him, I'm sure."

Wherewith he pocketed the two dollars and a half in controversy.

But your histrionic powers failed you in doing justice to the humor-proof mind of the average lady treasurer.

Before night the sad news was all over town. The two dollars and fifty cents were gone forever! The impudence and selfishness of a minister, a candidate for this pulpit, who considered his own selfish interests before those of a needy church!

For his part, the minister congratulated himself on discovering the neediness in the nick of time. A church that took back with one hand what it gave with the other had given you fair warning.

But here in Eden Centre no such virgin innocence would be tolerated. Here was a church that did things right. None of your pinching and scrimping for Eden Centre, but the best hotel in town, and a hospitable "now make yourself at home" from the church treasurer.

Really, it was quite in line with the sermon he had brought along, with the text: "Freely ye have received, freely give."

Herewith, he made an optimistic note for the sermon, touching the generous reception of a certain minister by a certain church of a certain town; in return for which munificence, what could he give them but his best? They would understand.

So, in fact, they did, beginning with the church treasurer; and once he saw the application, the fat was in the fire. The sermon, though never so eloquent, was received with reserve, bordering on a frost; and when the hotel clerk reported that the minister had merely remarked: "The church treasurer will settle my bill" and so departed in apparent good faith, everything happened!

Barely was he at home with his wife, and the good news of a church that did the ethical thing, when the storm broke from Eden Centre. Never, wrote the agonized treasurer, had the like been seen or heard of in this town! A minister going off without settling his hotel bill! Had the minister, after paying his railroad fare, settled the hotel bill, he would have had left one dollar and seventy-five cents. Certainly, a neat transaction, and all but an even break for Eden Centre! The min-

ister laughed at the breaking heart of a church treasurer, and improved on a familiar quotation:

> Talk not of grief till thou hast seen the tears of warlike men, bewailing the financial plight of a church with an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars, and a trainload of prosperous parishoners!

The gentleman should remember, he reminded the treasurer by return mail, that giving with one hand and taking back with the other was not payment. As a good businessman, the axiom would appeal to him. Moreover, self-respect was a pearl of great price, which any church must gladly win at the cost of a minister's hotel-bill. (The sermonette was thrown in. No extra charge.)

The aftermath of financial grief fell on a deaf ministerial ear. Remorselessly the minister held on to his salary-grab, reinforced by the text: "The laborer is worthy of his hire," and invited legal proceedings, if desired. But at the mere suggestion of facing the average jury with the financial facts, the case was dropped like a hot coal. All was over, the treasurer reported to a stricken church. The six dollars were gone for good.

As for a minister who would rob an unsuspecting church of good money, the only name for him was - - -

Here followed a string of politico-economic labels, calculated to make the punishment fit the crime.

"Heavens!" said the minister, as he counted the adjectives, "And I had supposed that some of us Americans still preserved the spirit of Seventy-six!"

Treason Against Brotherhood

ARTHUR D. WEAGE

Modern human society—a Babel of "confusion worse confounded," an industrial, political, economic, social "free-for-all" fracas! One is tempted to ask: "Is it really human society or inhuman anarchy?" Surely the "fountains of the mighty deep are breaking up." One stands appalled, and wonders if peace and order and sanity can ever emerge out of this inextricable chaos of modern civilization.

Surely there has been no lack of worldly-wise advisers, reformers, doctors, and nursemaids. We have listened, and tried their remedies. We have sought long and gone far afield to find a cure for our world sickness, but who dares claim that our deadly disease is being healed? We have said that the cure for our ills must be found in man's highest faculty—pure intellect, but have found it not. We sought help and healing in the wisdom of philosophers, but sought in vain. Then we turned to the scientists, the men who once (but no longer) knew and knew they knew, but again we were sorely disillusioned.

We sought healing and Utopia in material wealth and prosperity, and often said "soul thou hast much goods, take thine ease" but found the ease short-lived or a bed of thorns. We have sought and still most stupidly seek safety and some solution in guns and battleships and bombs, but have only multiplied problems and lost all sense of safety. Yes, we have often said of intellect, science, art, wealth, and mighty armies, "these be the gods that brought us up out of the land of Egypt." True, these products of man's genius, ingenuity, and intelligence have brought man up a long way on his evolutionary climb. Science, art, philosophy, and the rest have wrought wonders and brought us a long way through the wilderness, but they have not brought us to our promised land.

The practice of art for art's sake becomes at best a heartless and soulless futility, and at worst a deadly poisoner of the deepest wellsprings of life. A philosophy that is not rooted in genuine regard and concern for human personality and human welfare is a pernicious peril, a root out of dry ground, destined to wither away in disappointment and defeat. The final test of any human institution is what it does to human personality.

Let us make no mistake, the core of the matter is here. The chief cause of our confusion, our ghastly, world conflicts, our insane economic contradictions, our frenzy of fear, is upon us because we have cut ourselves and our affairs loose from the simple, natural brotherly foundation of any sane human life. If our collapsing house of human society is to be saved from swift and certain ruin, we must repair and rebuild the foundations of a common universal human brotherhood and social solidarity. If we neglect this, if we continue to build along the old superficial lines, no matter how skilled, how beautiful and elaborate the superstructure, the final collapse will be only the more complete and terrible. With even a little undergirding of real human brotherhood, the horrors of war, race hatred, profiteering, greed, starvation in plenty, would vanish.

To deny the brotherhood of the human race is the supreme treason—treason to humanity, treason to that divine spark of manhood within ourselves, treason to the Creator who made of one blood all races of earth. There is no treason in our world today so subtle, so contemptible, so deadly and widespread as this treason against brotherhood. It is the one chief canker sore that must be rooted out before healing and peace can come to our diseased and distracted race. A generation ago many of us thought we were near the border of that promised land, then something happened—our world went mad. When we came to ourselves we saw we were on the very verge of a bottomless abyss, a veritable inferno of hate and fear and bursting bombs. Something happened—to ourselves and to our too highly exalted, too much revered scientific prosperity and commercial divinities. Their claims to supremacy proved a horrible delusion. We found them broken reeds. They were powerless to deliver us in our day of desperate need.

We had builded a gorgeous top-heavy superstructure of a half-baked intellectualism, a vacuous pagan philosophy, a hide-bound disillusioned science, a soulless profligate prosperity, and a compromising "Lord Lord" religion. We had builded this proud and mighty structure on a foundation of shifting sand. The whirlwinds of retribution overtook us and are still wrecking this "whited sepulchre" of our inhuman civilization.

We moderns seem in some way to have missed the plain highway of life and made a monstrous mess of our world. We flatter ourselves we have missed it because it is so hard and so complicated. It is my belief that we have missed the perfectly plain highway of life, not because it is so very high and hard and intricate, but because we ourselves are so unchildlike, so very sophisticated and wise in our own conceits.

This vast structure of modern civilization is collapsing about our ears in universal fear, intolerance, and hatred, because we have persistently belittled, ignored, and practically denied certain simple, natural basic facts about human personality and human society. Men the world over have denied the universal brotherhood of man, the basic common unity of human society, the potential divinity of man, of every man, and the fatherhood of God.

Men and nations the world over have by their deeds denied and overridden these natural, almost self-evident, truths which the innate common sense and intuition of every sane human being compels him to accept. Without belief in, acceptance and practice of these fundamental facts of human life and organization, the fact of the universal brotherhood of man, the solidarity of human society, the sacredness of human personality, any lasting peace and order and progress is utterly impossible; and all our culture, intellectualism, science, philosophy, and the rest are futile, stuff and nonsense, or worse. This is not to deny the vital importance, the marvelous accomplishments of trained minds, science, art, religion in the development of mankind. They are proofs of man's greatness, but they are assets and blessings only when kept in their right places in the broad scheme of human life. They are not ends in themselves, but means; not lords, but servants. If our science or art, etc., be inspired and motivated by the knowledge and practice of human brotherhood, the essential equality of men, and the sacredness of human personality, then that science or art or whatever it is will be a blessing to humanity, will open up the way to the solution of all our human problems, and bring peace, prosperity, and progress. There is no other solution for bewildered, fear-hounded, war-mad men than belief in, planning for, and practice of human brotherhood.

We have often heard the slogan "business is business," implying that business has little or nothing to do with morals, human brotherhood, or religion. We hear about art for art's sake, implying that it is an end in itself, that it has nothing to do with human uplift or social purpose. We are told that education is not to be contaminated with religion or social idealism, also that science and philosophy are purely material or metaphysical, implying that they have nothing to do with social responsibility. We are assured also that religion is a sort of other-worldly, nebulous affair which has nothing practical to say or do about industry, economics, or politics.

To accept these false implications about the attainments of man is to change at once their potential good into almost certain and irreparable evil. Science that has no concern for the brotherhood of man at once stultifies and shackles itself, and insures its own final defeat. That economic and industrial life whose proud slogan has been "business is business" is a twentieth century monstrosity whose very existence is threatened because it has belittled, betrayed, or ignored the brotherhood of man by subordinating human personality to private profit.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 50)

"amnesty" which is only another word for the blessed compassion preached by Christ Himself.

Most sorely have we been troubled by the terms of the Law of Political Responsibilities promulgated by General Franco's government at Burgos on February 13 and just come to our attention. Under this "Law" the following are considered as having incurred "political responsibility" making them liable to punishment:

> All those who organized the elections of February, 1936, (held before the present war began and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution then in force).
>
> All those who were Government candidates for the Cortes in 1936.
>
> All those charged with missions of trust by the Popular Front.
>
> All Free Masons excepting those who had resigned from the Order before July 18, 1936.
>
> Members of the Cortes of 1936 who contributed, by action *or abstention,* to implant the ideas of the Popular Front.
>
> All those who remained abroad after July 18, 1936, and failed to return within a given period of two months, except those who lived abroad habitually.
>
> Officials who accepted promotion bringing with it an official title.
>
> All who, directly or indirectly, "have served Red Spain *or have not combatted it.*"
>
> All those who failed to support the Nationalist Movement if they had the opportunity to do so or who showed a passive attitude.
>
> All who, since October, 1934, "have contributed to the subversion of which Spain was the victim."

The law applies to all "criminals" *over the age of fourteen,* its provisions go back to October, 1934, almost two years before the war began and are retroactive, that is, they designate as "crimes" acts which were entirely legal at the time they were committed. Its provisions are, in short, so sweeping that they would apply to any one who participated in loyal political activities of any kind since 1934.

The penalties prescribed include imprisonment, confiscation of property, loss of civil rights and banishment to the African colonies.

The "Tribunal" which is to judge offenders will consist of a president, two generals, two Phalangists, and two magistrates. There is no trial by jury, no safeguard for the accused, no machinery of appeal from the decisions of this body.

We urge Your Holiness to consider whether such a travesty of justice as this "law" can, if put into operation, have other effect than to sow the seeds of further discord in that tragic country. It is not alone General Franco whom the world watches today but also the Catholic Church itself, and the Christianity common to all of us which is undergoing this crucial test before the eyes of the world. We cannot but feel that the persecution by an avowedly Christian and Catholic Government of a minority separated neither by race nor religion, whose only chargeable crime is a difference of political opinion, is an offense that cries out to the Most High.

As citizens of a country whose component elements are so various, we are conscious that the maintenance of principles of political tolerance is vital. We do not believe that any American, whatever his race or creed, can watch without indignation and apprehension a savage persecution by a cause that has been proclaimed a Christian Crusade. We believe that the feelings of American Catholics must be especially painful when that persecution is in the name of their own religion and that they could not but welcome the intervention of Your Holiness in this matter.

In its statement of March 7 that the democracies can keep their "hypocritical friendliness" and their "humanitarian maneuvers" to themselves, the Franco regime has bluntly challenged not only the democracies but all those who still abide by the principles of Christian charity. We take up that challenge in this appeal to Your Holiness whose spiritual dominion is not proscribed by the limits of temporal rights or wrongs and to whom General Franco owes his spiritual allegiance.

We therefore respectfully urge Your Holiness to raise your voice against the unchristian reprisals with which General Franco threatens his Republican brethren, to use your influence to make possible before it is too late, the departure from Spain of those whose lives are doomed if they remain within General Franco's reach

(*Continued on page* 63)

The Study Table

A Revaluation of Puritanism

THE PURITANS. *By Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson. 846 pp. New York: American Book Company. $4.00.*

American literature is gradually becoming conscious of its independent existence. American scholars are beginning seriously to evaluate American origins and American culture. Foremost among these scholars is Harry Hayden Clark, the general editor of a notable series of books dealing with American writers and their cultural background. The present volume, one of the most valuable in the series, deals with the Puritans, the most misunderstood of the founders of American culture. The able editors of this anthology of Puritan literature have done much to dispel the curious and erroneous notions held by most persons about the Puritans. In an especially able introduction the Puritan is considered in his age, as a Humanist, and man of letters. Correctly the first paragraph of the book announces its purpose: "without some understanding of Puritanism, it may safely be said, there is no understanding of America." Then the various popular and vulgar ideas of Puritanism are one after the other exploded. For example: ". . . it was the habit of proponents for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment during the 1920's to dub Prohibitionists 'Puritans,' and cartoonists made the nation familiar with the image of the Puritan: a gaunt, lank-haired kill-joy, wearing a black steeple hat and compounding for sins he was inclined to by damning those to which he had no mind." As a matter of fact, the Puritans were quite different, holding a sort of Aristotelian golden means. It was Increase Mather, Puritan minister, educator, diplomat, and man of letters who said, "the wine is from God, but the Drunkard is from the Devil." And so on, illustrations might be multiplied to show the ignorance of the average American about his own history. But perhaps the discussion of "Puritan Humanism" will be the most revealing to the one who wants to know the foundation of American education. The necessity today is to get back to the humanities, and educators are beginning to see this. Ample selections from Puritan writers are given to show their ability as historians, biographers, literary critics, educationists, scientists, and religionists. May this book hasten the day when education in our schools will pay adequate attention to American history and literature.

CHARLES A. HAWLEY

Democracy Needs Spiritual Force

COMMUNISM, FASCISM OR DEMOCRACY. *By Eduard Heimann. 288 pp. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. $2.50.*

The author, formerly professor of economics at the University of Hamburg and now a member of the "University in Exile" at the New School for Social Research in New York, has offered an intelligent (though in a heavy, professorial style that will prove distaseful to the average proletarian reader) comparison of the three principal political systems of our time. After presenting an able exposition of the origins of Socialism in the classic works of Marx and Engels, and its application in the Communism of Soviet Russia, and an evaluation of the Fascist systems of Italy and Germany, he turns to the conclusion that democracy is after all the best form of government. However, he is not ready to accept democracy with all its faults. He warns that democracy in order to succeed "must wield sufficient spiritual force to remove the threat of physical force dominant today." This book should be required reading for members of the official Communist party. It will prove revealing to such as are willing to think independently.

MICHAEL B. SCHELER.

Woodrow Wilson

MY MEMOIR. *By Edith Bolling Wilson. 286 pp. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.*

Begin on page 191, unless you are interested in the early life of Edith Bolling, her family and friends, her meeting with Woodrow Wilson, and the beginnings of their romance.

The World War came with all the problems and conflicts of international affairs: peace without victory, the American declaration, and finally the fourteen points and the armistice. A friendly wind blew the battle smoke off the Western Front and the good ship *George Washington* carried the President and his wife, the delegates and others to the Peace Conference at Versailles.

Life begins in January, 1919, with receptions at Paris and London and Rome. The President visits ruined cathedrals and parched battlefields, and his wife goes from hospital to hospital. But the greatest battle was yet to come—in the Hall of Mirrors in the city of Versailles.

The big four who were to play the principal rôles in this drama (except Wilson) were representing their nations with the purpose to get something out of the war. Wilson wanted only permanent peace: the solution of the war problems and a cooperative mechanism to procure and maintain law, order, and justice in the world.

The story of Versailles has been written before, but never before just like this. Mrs. Wilson knows the facts, and as she tells them her sincerity cannot be doubted.

The President fought the selfish politicians, the munition-makers and the business interests of Europe; and while he fought, he was attacked from the rear—first by a whispering campaign and then by open opposition in his own backyard at home.

He came back to America to prepare the way for the League in the Senate. And while he was gone his own peace delegation gave away about all he had won abroad, and he had to do his work over again; but he knew that the League must be saved or all was lost. His struggle to put the League Covenant into the Treaty was finally won; but he was tired, very tired, and the return voyage gave him only a few days' respite.

Then began the long, hard fight for the ratification of the Treaty by the Senate. He left Washington and went to the people with his cause—success was almost in sight—when a stroke took away the use of his left arm and leg. Still Wilson fought on—but a dying man cannot win a political fight. The League

was defeated in the Senate, but its Covenant had been ratified by enough nations to make the League operative.

So Wilson called the first meeting of the Council to convene at Paris on January 16, 1920, and ten months later on November 15, 1920, "at eleven o'clock in the morning all the church bells in Geneva were rung in honor of the first meeting of the assembly of the League of Nations."

On February 3, 1924, "the frail body which had racked with pain for so many years relaxed, and the enduring spirit took its flight. . . . The peace which passeth all understanding had come to Woodrow Wilson."

O. A. HAMMAND

Toward a Philosophy of History

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CREATIVE QUEST. *By Gaius Glenn Atkins. 232 pp. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press. $2.00.*

Taking for granted the contradictions and confusions of the present time, Dr. Atkins issues a call to revalue our values, to return to our proper goals. He begins with the Hebrew Prophets, goes on to certain other thinkers and saints, and tries to find the meaning of history. This is a laudable and necessary quest, and more and more we shall be driven to do this very thing. What we need today is a philosophy of history. Dr. Atkins would have profited by a thorough study of Hegel's attempt at a philosophy of history, but this book may stimulate others to think on this subject. Dr. Atkins' procedure is this: the prophet's quest for the will of God in history; the thinker's quest for intellectual integrity; the moralist's quest for moral mastery over time and chance; the quest of the divided soul for redemption; and finally, the quest for a social order in which the values found can be put into practice. Dr. Atkins recognizes the conflict of Hebraism with Hellenism. Would that he had discussed the conflict at greater length. For herein lies the basis of modern civilization. Matthew Arnold was quite right in 1868 in calling attention to this clash of ideals, and it has provoked thoughtful persons ever since to trace out in the history of mankind some sort of purpose or plan. But is there a "harmonious wholeness" to history, to man's struggle? Is there progress, material or spiritual? Must we "believe in order to know" or "know in order to believe"? We went through foolish anguish to make the world safe for democracy only to find that "our time turns to dictators and armaments." "The Pope and the Duce wrangle and retaliate, but they are brothers under the skin." "Philosophies are being organized to support such states . . ." And finally Dr. Atkins comes to Aldous Huxley who said "that his generation took to moral license because they could find no meaning in life or in the world." Dr. Atkins' book is more important for its suggestions than for its findings. Most of its findings are apparent, but we do need thoughtful men and women today to busy themselves with the possibility of a philosophy of history.

CHARLES A. HAWLEY

Fourth Annual Western Poets' Congress

April 22—11:00 a. m. to 8:30 p. m.

Columbus Club, Arcade
700 East Colorado Street, Pasadena

For details write:

Lucia Trent
Ralph Cheyney
182 Painter Street
Pasadena, California

The Field

(*Continued from page* 61)

and thus, by your intercession, to pave the way for the healing of this fratricidal strife.

[This statement was signed by dozens of the best known Christian clergymen and laymen of this country.—*Editors.*]

Refugee Children

Perhaps the most poignant reminder of the Nazi godlessness are those frightened bands of helpless children hurriedly thrust into trains, handed a few pfennigs, and given a tag bearing the names of parents whom they may never see again. Rather than have their little ones share the inhuman strictures of a dictatorship, these German mothers and fathers would prefer to part with them. Where their children will ultimately arrive, under whose protective wing they will finally find succor, the parents do not know. It is only an abiding faith that somewhere in the world humanity still heeds an ancient Christian call:

"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not."

The call has been heard in England, in tiny Holland, in Belgium, in France. The United States is also making ready to demonstrate its humane nature to the world.

Senator Robert F. Wagner and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers have introduced a measure in Congress which would give our traditional kindness a form of practical application. It would permit twenty thousand children, all under fourteen, to be admitted to this country in the course of the next two years. Half of them would be Protestants and Catholics, the remainder Jewish. They would not become public charges, for the bill clearly specifies that they are to be given hospitality only by those prepared to receive and support them. Our vast population would hardly feel the addition; there would be but one refugee child to every 2,000 of our more fortunate American youngsters under fourteen.

It is an easy way of showing that human kindness still runs high in this section of the globe. It involves nothing more than opening our gates to let in these homeless ones.

Humanitarianism has a peculiar quality of bringing together men and women who, in more secular spheres, rarely see eye to eye. Men of good will in all walks of life have voiced their approval. The sponsors of the bill, for example, are a Republican and a Democrat. Herbert Hoover, Mrs. Grace Coolidge are in favor of it. Both wings of the labor movement, in discord these many years, are behind it.

It is utterly needless to say that the ranking pastors of all sects have given their spiritual blessing to the measure.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of

Christ, for example, has said of the proposed legislation:

> In the extraordinary circumstances which have created the problem of Jewish and Christian refugees from Germany we feel that it is not enough to call upon other nations to help or to voice our protests but some such practical step as the one here contemplated is imperative and will do much to facilitate a larger approach to the problem of which it is but one part.

Perhaps the broadest and most unified expression of the deep sympathy for the young and innocent outcasts is the Non-Sectarian Committee whose co-chairmen include His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, represented by Bishop Bernard James Sheil of Chicago; Canon Anson Phelps Stokes, Washington Cathedral; Governor Herbert H. Lehman, New York; William Allen White, Emporia, Kansas; Helen Taft Manning, Dean Bryn Mawr College; Frank Porter Graham, President, University of North Carolina; and Clarence E. Pickett, American Friends Service Committee.

Modest as the bill's provisions are, word comes that there is still need to make certain of its passage by communicating with the various members of our Congressional Committees on Immigration and Naturalization. If only because America's time-honored rôle as an emblem of humanity is at stake, no stone should be left unturned in urging adoption of the measure.

Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, 122 *East 22nd Street, New York City.*

Affirmation of Christian Pacifist Faith

The following affirmation, prepared by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has been signed by more than one hundred clergymen, including Harry Emerson Fosdick, George Buttrick, Allan Knight Chalmers, Bernard C. Clausen, Phillips Elliott, Cornelius Greenway, John Howland Lathrop, Halford E. Luccock, Sidney Lovett, Elmore McKee, A. J. Muste, Kirby Page, Robert W. Searle, George Maychin Stockdale, Ernest Fremont Tittle, and John Haynes Holmes:

> We believe that God is the Father of all mankind, that his will as revealed in Jesus Christ is universal love, and that Christ's gospel involves the faith that evil can be overcome only with good.
>
> We believe that in the Cross is revealed God's way of dealing with wrongdoers, and that to this way all Christians are called.
>
> We believe that war, which attempts to overcome evil with more evil, is a denial of the way of the Cross.
>
> We believe that the Church is called to the way of the Cross.
>
> We believe that when the state in the prosecution of war seeks to compel the denial of the gospel, the Church must resist at whatever cost.
>
> We believe that God leads his church into new life through obedience of the individual believer in refusing war for Christ's sake.
>
> Therefore we proclaim to a world which is once again madly preparing for war that the gospel of God as revealed in Jesus Christ, which leaves us with no other choice but to refuse to sanction or participate in war, contains also its hope of redemption. We affirm our faith that the mission of the church today is to witness with singleness of heart, at whatever cost, to the power of good to overcome evil, of love to conquer hatred, of the Cross to shatter the sword.

Jefferson on Religion

A long-forgotten letter written by Thomas Jefferson, which has lain untouched and uncared-for more than fifty years, has been uncovered in the basement of the Tufts College Library by field workers for the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration.

The letter, which is addressed to the Reverend Thomas Whittemore of Cambridgeport and is dated June 5, 1822, is one of the few known documents expressing the religious sentiments of the patriot-leader, a subject which has caused considerable controversy since his death.

The paper, which is hand-written, was stored with other material in a trunk in the basement of the library, believed to contain only old books and accordingly overlooked for many years. There are other valuable papers in the collection, among them a letter signed by Major General Nathaniel Greene of the American Army, commending the Reverend John Murray, the founder of the Universalist Church in this country, who served as a chaplain with the Colonial forces during the Revolutionary war. There is a copy of the *Columbian Sentinel,* a newspaper published in Boston in 1790, containing a letter signed by General George Washington, in which he expresses his personal views on religion, also miscellaneous papers pertaining to the First and Second Universalist Churches in Boston.

In the Jefferson epistle he deplores the jealousies and hatred prevalent at that time between members of different religious sects, but declines to take sides in the controversies. He compliments the Society of Friends (Quakers) for their unobtrusive manners and harmonious dealings.

The letter reads:

Monticello, June 5, 1822

To Rev. Thomas Whittemore,
Cambridgeport, near Boston

I thank you, Sir, for the pamphlets you have been so kind as to send me, and am happy to learn that the doctrines of Jesus, that there is but one God, is advancing prosperously among our fellow-citizens; had his doctrines, pure as they came from himself, been never-sophisticated for unworthy purposes, the whole civilized world would at this day have formed but a single sect. You ask my opinion on the items of doctrine in your catechism. I have never permitted myself to meditate a specified creed. These formulas have been the bane of ruin of the Christian church, it's own fatal invention which, thro' so many ages, made of Christendom a slaughter house, and at this day divides it into casts of inextinguishable hatred to one another. Witness the present internecine rage of all other sects against the Unitarian. The religions of antiquity had no particular formulas of creed, those of the modern world none; except those of the religionists calling themselves Christians, and even among these, the Quakers have none. And hence alone the harmony, the quiet, the brotherly affections, the exemplary and unschismatising society of the Friends. And I hope the Unitarians will follow their happy example. With these sentiments of the mischiefs of creeds and confessions of faith, I am sure you will excuse my not giving opinions on the items of any particular one and that you will accept at the same time the assurance of the high respect and consideration which I bear to it's author.

(*Signed*) TH. JEFFERSON.

Proposed Constitutional Amendment

Paul Turner of Detroit, Michigan, proposes the following as an amendment to the constitution of the United States:

> It shall be unlawful to draft any naturalized citizen of the United States for military service to be rendered in any foreign country not belonging to the United States, no matter whether that service be for the United States or for the United States acting as an ally of some other nation, and should the United States determine to conduct a war in any foreign country, the men now enlisted in the United States Army may have the right to resign if they see fit, and be entitled to an honorable discharge.

Peace Heroes

On May 30th, 1939, the Peace Heroes Memorial Society of Cincinnati will hold its seventeenth annual service of remembrance for heroes and heroines of peace. After a program of suitable hymns, prayers, and readings and an address by a carefully chosen speaker, the group will place flowers upon the grave of a policeman, a fireman, a railroader, a factory worker, a nurse and a scientist who lost their lives in the performance of their duties and of a woman who died in childbirth. These exercises have been copied in many parts of the country. Persons interested may obtain, without charge, a copy of the publication, "Service of Remembrance for Heroes and Heroines of Peace," by writing to

ABRAHAM CRONBACH.
842 *Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.*

UNITY FILES

Public Institutions and Libraries desirous of completing their files of UNITY may secure back numbers from 1880 to the present, while the supply lasts, by the payment of postage. Copies are available to individuals at the regular current price of 15 cents each.